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ABSTRACT

This report examines public policy effects on historic neighborhood school expansion, renovation, and replacement needs. It addresses four basic questions: (1) Are public policies inadvertently sabotaging the very type of community-centered school that many parents and educators are calling for today? (2) Do some policies and practices promote mega-school sprawl at the expense of older neighborhoods? (3) Why can't kids walk to school anymore? and (4) How have some school districts overcome policy and other barriers to the retention and modernization of old historic schools? Included are examples of how some communities are addressing these troublesome policies, including several school renovation successes. Concluding sections provide recommendations for policy reforms to buttress neighborhood conservation and smart growth efforts that can help to retain and improve good schools that have served established neighborhoods for generations. (GR)

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Why Johnny Can't Walk to School

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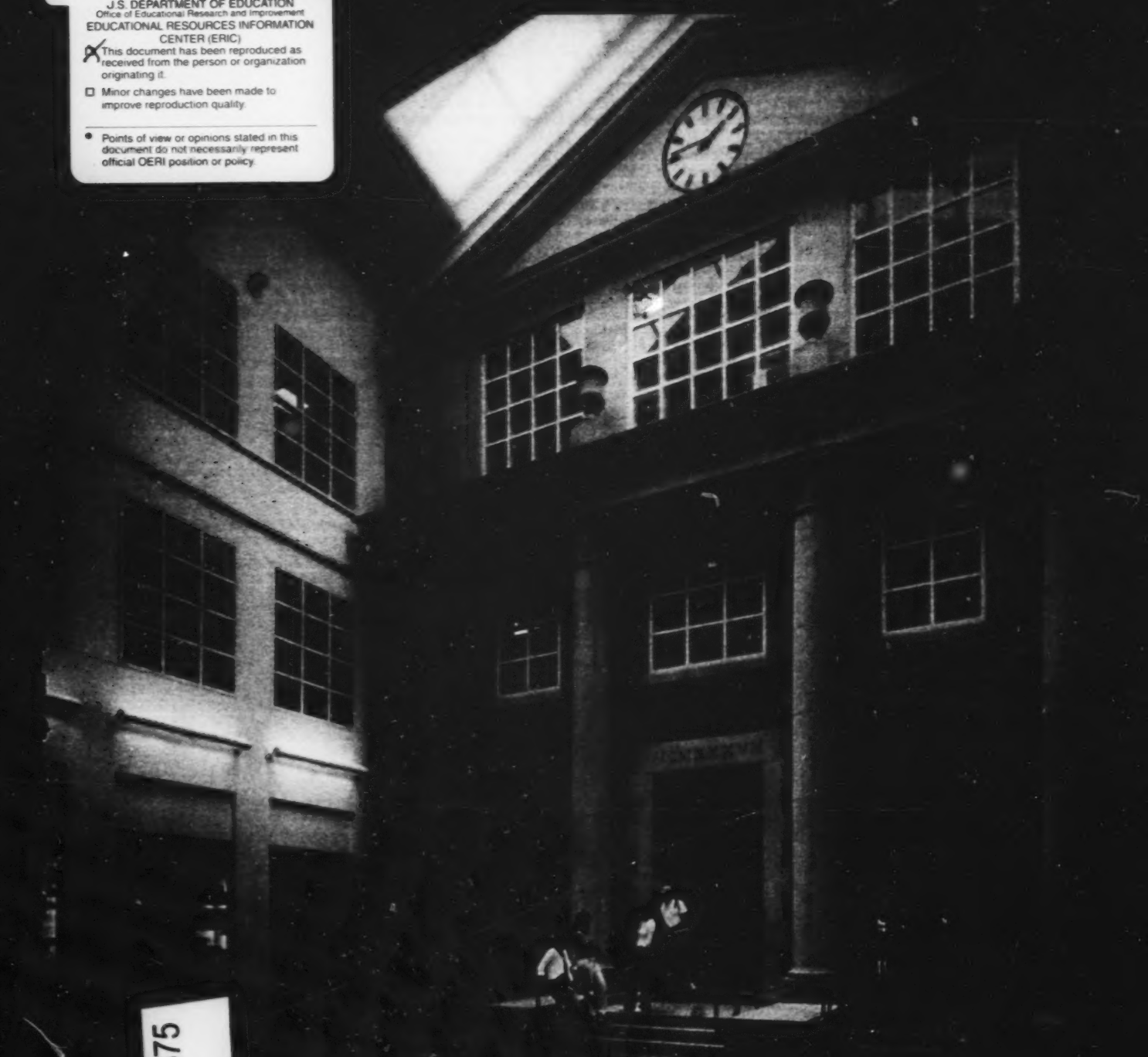

A Report by the National Trust for Historic Preservation

EF 005 875

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HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS IN THE AGE OF SPRAWL:

WHY JOHNNY CAN'T WALK TO SCHOOL

by
Constance E. Beaumont with Elizabeth G. Pianca

with a preface by
Richard Moe

National Trust for Historic Preservation
November 2000

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PREFACE

In June 2000, the National Trust for Historic Preservation added historic neighborhood schools to its annual list of America's Eleven Most Endangered Historic Places. In so doing, the National Trust sought to alert the public to various threats to these irreplaceable community landmarks:

- lack of money for needed repairs;
- an assumption that old is automatically bad and new is automatically good;
- public policies that discourage the maintenance of existing schools; and
- "mega-school sprawl" – the construction of giant educational facilities in remote, middle-of-nowhere locations that rule out the possibility of anyone's walking to school.

In putting historic neighborhood schools on its "endangered list," the National Trust was responding to requests for help from grassroots groups from Maine to Montana fighting to save schools that have long served as neighborhood anchors and that could continue to provide a good education for young people. Some examples of these fights:

- In New Castle, Pa., residents in the North Hills Historic District gathered 2,000 signatures on a petition asking the school district to abandon its plan to demolish a 1910 high school and 13 historic homes in the surrounding neighborhood. Because the school is one of the city's most important landmarks, city residents would like school officials to permit an architect experienced in rehabilitation work to examine the feasibility of renovating the school before it and the 13 homes are destroyed.
- In Raleigh, N.C., residents dropped plans to celebrate Thanksgiving upon receiving less than a week's notice of an impending school board decision to demolish their historic neighborhood school. Instead of relaxing over the holiday, the residents quickly mobilized and lined up people to testify against the plan in order to gain a reprieve for their school.
- In Detroit, residents of the Delray neighborhood turned out en masse in a successful effort to persuade the city council to designate the McMillan School, Detroit's oldest, as historic. Principal Wes Ganson says the school serves as a "lighthouse" for the blighted neighborhood. Residents have poured hours of volunteer time into cleaning

the school grounds, but the school is still struggling to get money for air conditioning, window repairs, and other needed improvements.

- Residents of Two Rivers, Wis., lost their battle to save the old Washington High School. In fighting, however, they raised an important question: If an older building is equated with a poor education, why would anyone want to send a child to an Ivy League college? Or to Oxford or Cambridge Universities, two venerable institutions that offer world-class educational experiences in centuries-old buildings located in the heart of old cities?

It would be absurd to argue that every historic neighborhood school can or even should be saved. But it is equally absurd to argue that a school's age *automatically* means it cannot be preserved and adapted to meet modern educational program needs. One finds eloquent rebuttals to this all-too-common argument in such places as Spokane, Wash.; Hibbing, Minn.; Boise, Idaho; Manitowoc, Wis.; and Miami, Fla., where school boards have worked collaboratively with the community and outfitted historic schools with the very latest in computer technology, life-safety techniques, handicapped-accessibility, and educational program features.

Schools were once thought of as important civic landmarks built to last a century. They represented community investments that inspired civic pride and participation in public life. Many of today's newer schools resemble big-box warehouses. Their architecture reflects little pride and they sometimes have an expected life-span of a mere 30 years.

With unprecedented amounts of public money about to flow into school construction programs as a result of pending legislation and recent court orders in such states as Ohio and New Jersey, it's time to reexamine public policies that affect the neighborhoods in which schools function and the ability of communities to save still serviceable, landmark schools – *as schools*. This report does exactly that. It is part of a larger initiative, which includes the National Trust's publication of *A Community Guide to Saving Older Schools* (June 2000, www.nthpbooks.org); a school appraisal guide to help school officials evaluate the merits of renovating older schools; a future web site on historic school preservation; and a compilation of case studies on successful school

renovations. This overall effort is being led by Robert Nieweg, director of the National Trust's Southern Field Office.

The National Trust and its quarter-million members have five decades of experience in preserving and revitalizing older neighborhoods, and neighborhoods are akin to the proverbial village it takes to raise a child. To the extent that the quality of the community affects the mindset that students bring to school, to the extent that a strong and cohesive neighborhood can provide a safety net and positive outlets for young people, and to the extent that schools serve as community anchors, the interests of historic preservationists, parents, children, and educators converge.

Richard Moe
President
National Trust for Historic Preservation

"They have recycling bins in the cafeteria, and yet they were planning to cart the whole school off to the landfill." -- Dan Becker, a North Carolina resident whose daughter attends a historic school in Raleigh. Becker and other neighborhood residents are trying to save the school from a proposed demolition.

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National Trust staff who contributed significantly to the writing of this report include Peter Brink, Dwight Young, Gary Kozel, Kitty Higgins, and Rob Nieweg. Others who helped with the Historic Neighborhood Schools Project include Linda Harper, Lisa Burcham, Adrian Fine, John Hildreth, Daniel Carey, Jim Mann, Martha Frish, Byrd Wood, Elaine Finbury and Alison Hinchman.

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C.E.B. and E.G.P.

WHAT WE'RE LOSING

In the middle of an older neighborhood in Spokane, Washington, stands the Wilson Elementary School, a handsome landmark built in 1926. Renovated in 1999 to meet modern building codes and to add the latest in technology and computers, the Wilson School enters the 21st century with a decades-old reputation for providing an excellent education well intact.

People love this school. It maintains high educational standards. It's small, so students can receive personal attention. Children can walk to school. It's safe and pleasant to do so because the neighborhood has sidewalks lined with trees and well-maintained homes. Having served three generations of students, the school embodies an important part of Spokane's history. The school is also beautiful.

Neighborhood residents are encouraged to use Wilson's facilities during after-school hours for civic and community activities. Like the students, parents and area residents can reach the school with a short walk through a pleasant neighborhood. The school's presence on Spokane's South Hill is one of the main reasons people buy into – and stay in – this older neighborhood. The school enhances property values and thus stabilizes an older part of the city.

In short, Wilson is a small, community-centered school that anchors an older neighborhood. It's exactly the kind of school that many educators and parents across the country are calling for today. But if you tried to build a school like Wilson, you could not do so in many places. In some areas you couldn't even renovate or add on to such a school. That's because Wilson sits on only 1.9 acres of land, a small site that would be considered "substandard" under many state policies, which typically require at least ten acres of land – plus one acre for every 100 students – for a new elementary school. Much larger sites are recommended for middle and high schools.

Other Policy Issues. But acreage requirements are only one of several public policies that can rule out the possibility of retaining – or building new – schools like Wilson in older neighborhoods.

- Funding formulas favor new-school construction over the renovation and maintenance of existing schools.

- Exemptions are made for school districts from local planning and zoning laws.
- Building codes are written with new construction methods in mind, then rigidly applied to older schools that could otherwise be upgraded through code compliance alternatives.

These and other factors make it hard for historic neighborhood schools to survive, to be modernized, and to continue to serve older neighborhoods. They can also prevent historic schools that cannot be renovated from being replaced by well-designed new schools on the same site. This replacement potential is important, for the continued presence of a school – old or new – is often key to an older neighborhood's economic viability.[1]

This report examines these and other policies for their effects on historic neighborhood schools. Along the way, we consider a number of questions:

- Are public policies inadvertently sabotaging the very type of community-centered school that many parents and educators are calling for today?
- Do some policies and practices promote mega-school sprawl at the expense of older neighborhoods?
- Why can't kids walk to school anymore?
- How have some school districts overcome policy and other barriers to the retention and modernization of old and historic schools?

We conclude with an *Agenda for Change* -- recommendations for policy reforms to buttress neighborhood conservation and smart growth efforts. Such reforms should also help to retain and improve good schools that have served established neighborhoods for generations.

A Movement for Smaller Schools as Centers of Community

Because so many school districts are building new schools on huge sites in outlying areas, the National Trust examined recent research by education experts to see how this trend comports with the latest thinking about the elements of a good school. Two factors – size and "community-centeredness" -- emerged from this research as being of special relevance to historic schools since they are typically smaller and located in the middle of neighborhoods.

We found that while some educators believe that large schools are better because they provide economies of scale, offer students more subject offerings, and permit more competitive sports teams who can practice on more ball fields, many others prefer smaller, community-centered schools. It is not necessary to settle the debate over whether big or small schools are better in order to recognize that across the country, many parents, teachers, and education experts are saying that smaller schools are better for kids, better for learning, and better for communities.

"We need to find ways to create small, supportive learning environments that give students a sense of connection," U. S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley told the National Press Club in his 1999 Back-to-School Address. "That's hard to do when we are building high schools the size of shopping malls," he added. "Size matters." "Small" is an imprecise term, but education experts generally agree that elementary schools should enroll no more than 300-400 students; middle schools, no more than 500 students; and high schools, no more than 2,000 students.

Huge schools shroud young people in a "cloak of anonymity," according to the National Association of Secondary School Principals.[2] At the same time, many studies have found that smaller schools produce better academic results, lower dropout rates, and less student violence.[3]

Graduates and students from big schools support this point. "At a large school, you feel like a cog in a machine. You just get pushed through the system," says Lakis Polycarpou, a graduate of Columbine High in Littleton, Colo. "Being in a small school has made the difference," says a high school student whose grades rose from C's and D's to B's following her transfer from a large to a small school. "I have been able to get more attention. I know everybody and feel like they are watching over me. Last year, I took a summer school program in a big school. I was considered a number. At Vanguard, I feel safe. I can learn here." Small schools "offer what metal detectors and guards cannot – the safety and security of being where you are known well by people who care for you," writes Deborah Meier, the former principal of a successful small high school in New York City.[4]

There is also growing interest in community-centered schools. Studies show that students do best in environments in which the school is central to the life and learning of

the community, according to *Schools As Centers of Community*, a national report reflecting the wisdom of leading educators. Yet the majority of schools now in use were "designed to serve as stand-alone instructional facilities where community access is limited rather than encouraged," this report observes.[5] It's hard to have community-centered schools when schools are not in the center of the community – or anywhere near it. Here, too, size matters. Smaller, human-scaled institutions are easier to fit into existing neighborhoods. They are also easier for community residents to relate to than behemoth-sized institutions.

Despite the clamor for smaller, community-centered schools, "mega-school sprawl" – giant schools on the outskirts of town with tenuous physical connections to the communities they serve -- continues to spread across the country. In Chester County, Pa., for example, a new high school for 2,050 students is slated to be built on 80 acres of recently condemned farmland. Almost no one will be able to walk to the new school, according to the East Bradford Township Board of Supervisors, which has characterized the proposed school as the "embodiment of sprawl."[6] The school district's intention to build a large school in an undeveloped area violates Chester County's comprehensive plan, which recommends that public institutions such as schools be located in town centers, where they can serve as centers of community life.

The Need for Neighborhood Anchors

Meanwhile, an American icon -- the small school you could walk to in a neighborhood where you knew your neighbors -- is disappearing. Only 13% of all trips to school are made by walking and bicycling today.[7] Schools that hold the memories of generations are disappearing. Handsome school buildings – landmarks that inspire community pride -- are being discarded for plain, nondescript boxes that resemble factories. Increasingly, a stressful drive through congested traffic separates parents and children from ever-more distant schools.

Like the movement of post offices and other public buildings from downtowns to outlying commercial strips, the migration of schools from settled neighborhoods to middle-of-nowhere locations is one more factor weakening the ties that once brought

people together. And like residential or commercial sprawl, "school sprawl" is contributing to the dismemberment of communities around the country.

"Our school was not just an institution of learning," observes Rachel Southworth of Sadieville, Ky. "It was the heart of the community. Everyone here attended the fall carnival at the school. The children walked to school. As a small school, it allowed for a good parent-teacher ratio and hands-on care for the children. The children excelled. Their scores were among the highest in the state. The entire community wanted to save the school. We think it could have been saved. It was a wonderful building. But renovating the building was simply not considered. After the school closed, the community became rather depressed. We felt defeated."

Older, in-town neighborhoods whose viability is enhanced or even sustained by the presence of a school fear losing the "glue" that holds them together. Ann Clancy, a parent and president of the Broadwater Elementary School PTA in Billings, Mont., is leading an effort to prevent the closing of this and three other historic schools. "Our downtown is already hurting due to an influx of big-box stores on the outskirts of town. This is one of the few remaining neighborhoods in which we have a cross-section of people from different economic and social backgrounds. If they close the school, this will mean one more blow to the city. It will give people one more reason not to live close-in."

This perspective is reinforced by Steven Bingler, president of Concordia, Inc., a New Orleans-based education planning firm, who observes that the market for inner-city housing for families often depends on the quality of inner-city schools: "Many residents fleeing the inner city for the suburbs are leaving in search of more stable and dependable schools. One way to help reverse the trend of outward migration is to develop schools in cities and townships that encourage community involvement, achieve academic excellence and attract more people to live and raise their families there."[8] Bingler has reported that one way to reverse this trend is simply by not destroying good, community-centered schools that have served older neighborhoods for generations and that, with proper maintenance and upgrading, could continue to do so for many more years.

Young people's need for independence

Students may never have heard of "school sprawl," but they feel its consequences. "There is no activity bus at my school," writes a Northern Virginia teen in a letter-to-the-editor following a drunk driving incident. "If students do any sort of after-school activity," she continues, "they must drive themselves home, bum rides or wait to be picked up. The inconvenience on parents is immense...My parents are sick of chauffeuring me, and I am sick of begging rides in order to go anywhere...Residents of the suburbs are car-dependent...Out here, there are no buses, no Metro, no trains – no public transportation – and distances are almost always too far to be easily walked or biked."

As sprawl scatters the ingredients of communities ever more randomly across the landscape, spontaneous play among children is becoming obsolete. Children must be driven miles to play with friends, which means time-strapped parents must spend hours on the road chauffeuring their kids from one place to another.[9] Mothers average no less than an hour a day just driving their children around, according to the Surface Transportation Policy Project.

Teen-agers often have no choice but to take a job to buy a car – or pay for car insurance – if they want to have a social life or engage in after-school activities for which convenient transportation does not exist. While many would agree that young people can benefit from working, excessively long hours at after-school jobs takes time away from homework and physical exercise.

American adults average 72 minutes every day behind the wheel, according to the U.S. Department of Transportation's Personal Transportation Survey. "This is, according to time diary studies, more than...twice as much [time] as the average parent spends with the kids," writes Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone*.[10]

"Many of our communities have been designed to be convenient for cars, not for children," observe the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta. The freedom of children to explore their communities is "greatly limited when walking is not safe or enjoyable," the Centers add. "Sadly, this deprives our neighborhoods of the activity and laughter of children walking and bicycling to and from school together."

The Centers have linked several problems associated with sprawl, including the absence of sidewalks in many neighborhoods and the replacement of walking and bicycling by automobile travel for all but the shortest distances, to a national obesity epidemic. Although physical fitness goals are used to justify the large and numerous athletic fields that go along with many mega-schools in outlying locations, the design and layout of new communities make it hard to work simple exercise – like walking – into one's daily routine. The percentage of overweight children has increased by 63% over the past 30 years, according to the Centers whose research shows that 60% of overweight five- to ten-year-old children already have at least one risk factor for heart disease.[11]

HOW SHORTSIGHTED POLICIES UNDERMINE HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

To a surprising extent, public policies have cut schools and communities off from each other by encouraging the closure of small, community-centered schools and promoting mega-school sprawl.

Acreage Standards

Many state education departments either mandate or recommend a minimum number of acres for schools. National guidelines recommended to states by the Council of Educational Facility Planners International (CEFPI) call for the following:

Elementary School

- At least 10 acres of land plus one acre for every 100 students

Middle School

- At least 20 acres of land plus one acre for every 100 students

High School

- At least 30 acres of land plus one acre for every 100 students

Thus an elementary school with 400 students would need 14 acres; a middle school with 600 students, 26 acres; and a high school with 2,000 students, 50 acres.

Many states apply guidelines similar to those recommended by the CEFPI, while other states have developed their own formulas. New York, for example, recommends only three acres of land – plus one acre for every 100 students – for an elementary school. Minnesota, on the other hand, recommends twice as much land as does CEFPI for a large high school: 60 acres plus one acre for every 100 students.[12] Local governments, too, establish minimum school site sizes. Albemarle County, Va., for example, recommends 15 acres for an elementary school with 600 students, 30 acres for a middle school with 750 students, and 45 acres for a high school with 1,500 students. The county's current high school sites exceed 60 acres.[13]

Since sites that large can generally be found only in outlying areas, which are too remote for students to walk to or reach by public transit, schools often require a vast

expanse of asphalt for parking. Santa Fe, N.M., requires parking spaces for 50% of the high school student body.[14] At 300 square feet per parking space, a student lot for 1,000 cars would need 300,000 square feet, or about seven acres of land for blacktop. Teacher and staff parking requires still more asphalt. In Charleston, S.C., schools serving 3,000 students are being built with nearly ten acres of parking, according to the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League, a land-use planning advocacy organization that examined 200 schools in Charleston's Lowcountry.[15]

When asked about multi-level schools as a way to reduce land consumption, the architect of a large Midwestern firm specializing in school construction responded: "We don't believe in three-story schools. Kids can fall on the stairs. So they're considered a liability."

Sites as large as those recommended today are hard to find in older cities and towns, where older schools typically occupy only two to eight acres, are surrounded by densely developed neighborhoods, and have no room to expand. Although big-city school districts can easily get waivers from these requirements, small and mid-sized communities often struggle with them because acquiring more land is not considered a big problem. "Expansiveness is taken for granted" in most suburban and rural areas, say the CEFPI guidelines.[16] The system thus recognizes the difficulties large cities encounter in meeting the acreage standards, but it ignores the fact that small and mid-sized communities might want to keep schools in town for the sake of maintaining vibrant town centers and cohesive neighborhoods.

Alternatively, large school site requirements may force a community to encroach upon land already occupied by businesses or homeowners, who are then forced to move.[17] In New Castle, Pa., the local school district has condemned -- and plans to demolish -- no fewer than 13 historic homes to make way for a new school, athletic fields, and parking. In Massachusetts, older communities have had to give up precious parkland and farmland so schools could meet acreage standards.

In some cases, state acreage standards are actually more flexible than they are represented to be. However, some school districts treat recommendations as if they were regulations, particularly when they want an excuse to tear down and build new. When citizens working to save older neighborhood schools try to distinguish between what's

required and what's merely recommended, they sometimes run into a brick wall, buck-passing between state and local officials, or both.

State funding biases

Like acreage standards, state reimbursement policies can also tip the scales in favor of building new schools and against the upgrading of existing schools.

One problem is the so-called "60% rule." This says: If the cost of renovating an older school exceeds 60% of the cost of a new school, the school district should build a new school if the district wants to receive financial assistance from the state.[18] The percentages vary: Massachusetts has applied a 50% rule; Minnesota, a 60% rule; Washington State, an 80% rule.

The problem with such arbitrary percentage rules is that they prevent a full cost analysis by state and local governments and arbitrarily eliminate sound renovation projects. Certain new construction costs -- items such as land acquisition, water and sewer line extensions, transportation and road work, for example -- may not be factored into the comparison. The same thing is true of the costs of maintaining or demolishing a school building taken out of service. If these costs were considered, renovation projects might meet the percentage rule more easily.[19] The rules also discount other values, such as a community's desire to maintain a school as a neighborhood anchor or to have a school to which children can walk.

State reimbursement policies can also discourage the proper maintenance of existing schools. A Massachusetts report found that state funding sources for school maintenance and repair have the "unintentional side effect of rewarding schools that allow their facilities to deteriorate with new school buildings." In many areas, claims for building maintenance funds must compete with demands on operating budgets. Faced with the choice of hiring several new teachers or fixing a leaking roof, a school district is more likely to hire the teachers, even though deferred maintenance of the school building may generate a huge tab later on. Given reimbursement rates, it may seem more cost effective for a town to build a new school -- or undertake a major renovation in a few years -- than to properly care for a school building over the long term.

Finally, it is worth noting that whereas private corporations receive state and federal tax incentives for rehabilitating historic buildings, public agencies such as school districts receive no such incentives for renovating historic schools.

Conflicts between community planning and school planning

Local governments typically use planning, zoning, and other growth management laws to protect their community's quality of life. Through these laws, municipalities can preserve or create close-knit neighborhoods that permit kids to walk to school. These laws can also help make sure that taxpayer funds are not squandered, but rather used to maintain public assets, including those important to young people, like schools, libraries, parks and recreation centers.

At the same time, construction of new schools in outlying areas can greatly alter a community's future growth patterns. Often such schools establish beachheads for residential sprawl. New school sites selected by local school systems can force a municipality to speed up the construction of new roads, water mains, and sewer lines.

Research into local planning and development activities in Lincoln, Nebr., prompted W. Cecil Steward, dean of the College of Architecture at the University of Nebraska, to conclude that "the public school system…is the most influential planning entity, either public or private, promoting the prototypical sprawl pattern of American cities." He refers to public school systems as "advance scouts for urban sprawl."[20]

In some states, school districts are exempt from local planning and zoning laws or they simply ignore them. In Georgia, for example, a local court held that the Bibb County School District did not have to comply with zoning regulations after the local planning commission tried to require the district to address the adverse effects of a school stadium on the surrounding neighborhood.[21]

School superintendents and school boards "have regularly ignored or bypassed local master plans, capital improvement plans, and even zoning in the siting and operations of their facilities," writes a Massachusetts planner. "It is as if they were above planning."

Under California law, public schools can be located with little regard to local plans intended to promote orderly, well-planned growth. New schools are often built on

productive farmland located outside urban growth boundaries. The city of San Jose recently objected to a plan by the Morgan Hill School District to build a new high school on a greenbelt separating San Jose from Morgan Hill. San Jose's objections:

- The proposed school site is zoned for agriculture and is on a greenbelt slated for permanent protection.
- The school would require the extension of city services outside of the designated urban service areas of both San Jose and Morgan Hill. This would violate growth management policies established by San Jose to prevent sprawl.
- If San Jose is forced to extend services to the school site, the services will have to be made available throughout the entire length of the Coyote Valley, thus stimulating new development pressures throughout the whole region.[22]

According to the Stanislaus County (Calif.) Farm Bureau, schools often act as a catalyst for growth patterns that destroy farming.[23] Once new subdivisions attracted by schools move into an agricultural area and make it hard to farm, farmers start looking for other uses for their land. Many of these uses conflict with farming. To survive economically, farmers feel they must sell out to development.

The rift between school planning and general community planning has become so great in California that State Assemblywoman Patricia Wiggins (D-Santa Rosa) has sponsored legislation to address this problem. Her proposal would require school districts to defer to local zoning laws in jurisdictions that have local comprehensive plans, provided these plans contain provisions to accommodate the need to build or renovate public schools. Current state law permits school districts to exempt themselves from local land-use regulations with a two-thirds vote of the school board.

In 1994, the South Carolina General Assembly passed a law[24] requiring local planning agencies to plan for growth in their respective jurisdictions. However, if a local school district's plan conflicts with a local comprehensive plan – if, for example, a proposed school site falls outside a jurisdiction's urban growth boundary – no government authority can stop the project, even if the location makes no sense to the community, according to the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League.[25] "Local [school] districts are not obligated to work with local planners or other government

officials on selecting a new site," says the League, "and they need not ensure that its location fits into a community's overall comprehensive plan." [26]

In short, school districts may, if they choose, ignore plans for sensible, well-managed, "smart growth." In addition, they often act as magnets for sprawl.

Building codes

Everyone, preservationists included, agrees that schools must be safe. The debate in this area centers *on the path taken* to achieve the level of safety that all agree is essential.

At the core of the problem is the application of modern building codes *written with only modern construction methods and materials in mind* to older schools. Since building codes are updated every few years, most existing buildings, even recent ones, do not comply with every code provision. This does not mean the buildings are unsafe. Installation of sprinkler systems, smoke detectors, and other early warning systems can compensate for items required by modern codes – items that may not have existed when the older buildings were constructed. In fact, many state building codes recognize that older buildings may not fully comply with modern codes but that they can be made safe through compliance with alternative code provisions. New Jersey's Rehabilitation Code and Massachusetts' Article 23 are two examples.

Architects experienced in the rehabilitation of older buildings can often retrofit older schools to provide a level of life safety equivalent to that found in a brand-new building. But renovation alternatives are often not given that chance. One reason is that architects inexperienced in rehabilitation techniques sometimes overestimate the costs of bringing an older school up to code. If they overestimate renovation costs by hundreds of thousands of dollars, or by millions of dollars, as sometimes happens (see p. 33 on Kokomo, Ind.'s experience), the school district will usually opt for new construction even though renovation is cheaper.

Much confusion surrounds the concept of "wood-frame" construction, a basic construction type used throughout the ages and often found in older schools. Although the mere presence of wood framing does not render a building obsolete or unsafe – and although code compliance alternatives exist for the incorporation of wood-framed

structures into contemporary school programs – older schools with wood framing are often automatically treated as unsafe. In North Carolina, such schools are placed in a category that can disqualify them for building maintenance funds.

Compliance with the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) should be considered a given for any school renovation project. But experience has shown that carefully planned ramps, elevators, and lifts can successfully address the majority of handicapped accessibility issues. These items should not prevent the continued use of existing school buildings, particularly since the installation of "accessibility features" normally represents a small percentage of a school renovation budget.

In general, it is wise for school districts and school renovation advocates to retain consultants experienced in renovation and code compliance alternatives to assist in the architectural evaluation of a school.

TRANSPORTATION COSTS: TIME AND MONEY

- The costs of busing children longer distances as a result of building schools in remote locations are sometimes ignored, even though these costs can be substantial. In Maine, for example, between 1970 and 1995, the number of students statewide declined by 27,000. During this same period, however, school busing costs rose from $8.7 million to over $54 million.[27]

- "I rode the bus to school with the children. Four-year-olds involved in a special pre-school program -- and five- and six-year olds – they were getting up before 7:00 a.m. for a long, 45-minute bus ride. They didn't return until 4:30 p.m. That's a long day for small children. They were exhausted. They were sleeping to and from school." -- Rachel Southworth of Sadieville, Ky, which lost its elementary school to a newly developing area several years ago.

LOCAL PRACTICES

While state policies can undermine the preservation of historic neighborhood schools and promote school sprawl, local practices can pose problems as well. Citizens involved in campaigns to save historic schools from proposed demolitions or closings have noted the following problems:

Deferred Maintenance. Because of insufficient operating funds, many school districts struggle to pay teachers and meet other expenses; they often have to defer needed building maintenance. In other cases, school boards have been criticized for allowing older school buildings to deteriorate, knowing it will then be easier to garner voter approval for new buildings. When simple tasks – like changing air filters or cleaning gutters – are ignored, the result can be (and usually is) expensive. To counter the problem of letting annual operating budget pressures trigger unsound financial decisions over the long run, some experts recommend that school districts devote a certain percentage of their operating budgets to building maintenance.

Withholding of important information. Although many school boards are models of inclusiveness and openness, other boards act in secrecy and make citizens feel shut out of the planning process. Citizens are sometimes told they are not in as good a position as school board members to make well-informed judgements, and yet school boards sometimes withhold the very information citizens need.

- In Clear Creek County, Colo., the ballot-box measure in which the school board requested bond approval for a new school neglected to say *where* the school would be built. Citizens there tried but failed to get a second referendum placed on the ballot that would clearly inform voters of the proposed school's location.
- In Thomas, Okla., a school bond measure said nothing about the school board's plans to demolish the town's historic high school; it talked only about "constructing, equipping, repairing, and remodeling" school buildings.

Working at odds with affected municipalities. In East Bradford Township, Pa., township supervisors made no fewer than three written requests to the West Chester Area School Board for information concerning a new school proposed within the township. The township received no response. Upon learning that East Bradford Township had

scheduled a mid-day meeting on April 6, 2000 to act to protect farmland eyed by the school district for the school, the school district called an early-morning meeting, voted to condemn the land and thus ambushed the township. Township supervisors have criticized the school district for not sharing its plans with the public before condemning farmland that both the county and the township had planned to keep rural in the face of rapidly disappearing farms and open spaces.

A deaf ear to renovation possibilities. Few school board members have the technical expertise to compare the merits of renovation with those of new construction, and many of the architects and school facility planning firms they retain to advise them are unfamiliar with renovation techniques or are biased in favor of new construction. If a school board selects a firm with a bias against renovation or a vested interest in new construction, the recommendations are likely to be biased as well. Architects unfamiliar with – or biased against -- renovation techniques have been known to overestimate the costs of renovation by thousands and even millions of dollars, thereby prejudicing the school board's decision. Preservationists have run into this problem in Durham, N.C., and Kokomo, Ind., for example.

Vested interests on school planning committees. The composition of committees evaluating school facility options is critical. If the committees are dominated by corporations, architects, developers, or construction company owners with a vested interest in building new schools on the edge of town, school preservation advocates face an uphill battle. Citizens trying to save historic neighborhood schools in Billings, Mont., and Corning, N.Y., have complained that the school facility planning committees in their communities are dominated by vested interests.

Fear of speaking out. Many people equate new buildings with better education and older buildings with inferior education. They may have never even seen successful school renovations, and therefore cannot envision a renovation's potential. Because of this lack of experience, it is easy for the momentum of business-as-usual to drive decision making. Proposing the exploration of renovation options in the face of such momentum takes courage and tenacity. Moreover, parents are sometimes afraid to speak out against a school board's plans to close or demolish the school lest reprisals be taken against their children. Whether such fears are well grounded or not, they can be very real. As one

parent said, "Going up against the school board was a gut-wrenching, stressful experience. My daughter attends the school. Here I was, going up against the principal. The teachers had been ordered into line. There's a degree of discomfort in fighting the school board. There's a price to pay." Teachers, too, may fear repercussions if they take a position at odds with that of their principal or the school board. Speaking out can be particularly difficult in a small town in which everyone knows everyone else and no one wants to create division.

Influence of developers. School-site selections are sometimes influenced by developers who donate land for school sites to school districts to improve the value of their new subdivisions, according to the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League.[28] Property owners wishing to sell out to large-scale commercial development may donate part of their property for a new school to help a developer who needs local government approval of a controversial rezoning request. These donated sites are not always the best locations for schools. If they are "sprawl sites," they can undermine efforts to maintain cohesive town centers and neighborhoods.

Citizens in Warrenton, Va., recently fought hard to prevent Wal-Mart from building a mega-store on the outskirts of this small town. Fearing the store would hurt the downtown and bring new sprawl into a rural area, residents persuaded both the Warrenton Town Council and the Fauquier County Board of Supervisors to require retail stores over a certain size to obtain special permits. But this legislation was effectively circumvented when a local property owner who had offered to donate land for a new school next to the Wal-Mart site threatened to withdraw the donation if water and sewer services were not extended to the site. Public officials felt they couldn't afford to turn down "free land" for a school, even though the proposed development could have an adverse impact on the entire area. The town was thus pressured to extend utilities out to the mega-store. (Landowners can take significant tax deductions for school donations in addition to profiting from the sale of their remaining land for large-scale development.)

COMMUNITIES ARE FIGHTING BACK

As people wake up to the unintended consequences of certain public policies, they are starting to rebel. In some cases, the "rebels" feel that older schools are worth fighting for because they are an important part of the community's history. In other cases, the rebels have labored to bring back older neighborhoods and fear the blighting influence that a closed school might create. Citizens are reacting against proposals to build "mega-school sprawl," knowing that it will alter forever the character of their town and foreclose the possibility of having community-centered schools. And people are fighting the uninformed and summary dismissal of school renovation options.

A Battle in Durham, North Carolina

The historic George Watts Elementary School anchors the Trinity Park neighborhood in Durham. But in 1989, the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction (DPI) issued a report declaring that the school did not meet state guidelines and should therefore be closed.

Among the guidelines that Watts failed to meet:

- a minimum enrollment of at least 450 students in an elementary school. Watts had only 280 children;
- a minimum of 10 acres plus one acre for every 100 elementary school children. Watts had only four acres;
- a minimum classroom size of 1,000 square feet. Watts' classrooms were all smaller; and
- certain fire code requirements.

Landing on the state's slate for "discontinued use" is akin to a death warrant for a school. Not only does such classification mean no state money for renovation, but it can also make it politically difficult to secure local funds for this purpose.

Residents of the Trinity Park area had already seen what the loss of a school could do to a neighborhood. "Our school system had a lot of empty buildings sitting all over the place," recalls Linda Wilson, a neighborhood resident. "They were boarded up all over the city. Two schools had even burned down. So we worried that closing Watts would create a blight in our neighborhood." Wilson and others also felt that Watts was

one of the few city schools doing a good job of educating children from different socio-economic backgrounds.

Having organized in the past to fend off other threats – such as a city plan to chop down 100-year-old oak trees – the Trinity Park neighborhood now had a network in place to cope with crises such as the proposed Watts closure. Neighborhood association members regularly attended city planning meetings to keep an eye on actions that might affect them.

The first strategy meeting aimed at saving the Watts school took place at the home of Dr. Curtis Eshelman, a member of the Durham City School Board who sympathized with the neighborhood residents. "I was in an odd position," recalls Eshelman. "I wanted to see the Watts School saved, but as a school board member, I couldn't vote to renovate the school unless we could demonstrate that that was doable."

In an effort to show the school board that Watts could be renovated to meet code and accessibility standards, Dale Pahl, another neighborhood resident who works professionally as an engineer, assembled a team of Trinity Park neighbors that included an architect and the owner of a plumbing company. Working *pro bono*, they invested about 120 hours in analysis and preparation of a report that refuted points made by the school board's consultant, who had argued that renovating Watts would be too expensive. "We requested a copy of the consultant's analysis," says Pahl. "We found that the consultant's analysis was incomplete and did not adequately consider the option of renovating the school. The consultant had spent only a small amount of time looking at the problem. We concluded that the consultant's recommendations were not valid. We developed engineering, cost, and architectural analyses to support our conclusions."

The analysis produced by Pahl's team demonstrated that renovating Watts was feasible and cost-effective. It showed that rooms could be consolidated to meet the state's requirements for bigger classrooms. A new addition could be added to meet the minimum enrollment standard and still leave adequate playing fields for the children. With a new elevator, a ramp, and other features, the school's accessibility to disabled persons could be enhanced. Further, renovation costs would fall within the range of cost estimates for recent construction of new schools in the area.

This analysis, presented in a report written by volunteers who crammed their research into nights and weekends, was accepted by the Durham School Administration and School Board. Ultimately, the report bought the Watts school a reprieve. The only hurdle remaining was the state's requirement for a 14-acre site for a school of Watts' size. But now that the feasibility of bringing Watts up to all the other state standards had been demonstrated, the school board was willing to seek a waiver to the acreage requirements. This was granted.

The Trinity Park neighborhood then led a campaign to pass a school bond referendum that would generate funds to renovate Watts. With the bond approved, the school board accepted the neighborhood's proposal to establish an advisory panel to review school renovation options more formally. The panel's cost estimate, which drew information from volunteer architects, engineers, and other experts, came in at $3.6 million to renovate and expand the Watts School for 400 students. This estimate compared favorably with the $4.3 million estimate that the school board's architect had submitted for a new school that housed only 300 students.

With funding now in place, a local architect with experience in renovations, Eddie Belk of ARDA, was subsequently retained to rehabilitate Watts. Besides making needed repairs, Belk's firm created a new 66,000-square-foot addition that matches the original school. The firm also installed a handicapped-access ramp in front of the new addition. Other improvements included new computer rooms, additional first-floor exits, an elevator providing access to all floors, enlarged classrooms (made possible by shrinking hallways and consolidating several smaller rooms), added fireproofing, and new windows, doors and ceilings -- all compliant with current codes.

In reflecting on his experience with the Watts School, Pahl says that the state policy is an unenlightened one that creates significant barriers to the renovation of older schools in urban areas. "The policy basically asks us to move out of urban areas, discard historic buildings, erode community infrastructure, and create sprawl in rural, less populated areas." He believes that school boards often lack the technical expertise needed to assess the merits of renovating schools versus building new ones.

"When you think about it, the school is the only structure that really pulls us together and gives us a sense of ownership over the neighborhood," says Eshelman. "It's

the most cohesive element we have as a community. And the ability of children to walk to school is fantastic, especially for the little ones. They don't have to get on a big, intimidating bus and go to some strange place. The Watts School is very welcoming. It has a front lawn. Parents can walk to school and stand outside while they wait to pick up their kids. They talk with each other and with the teachers. This all reinforces the educational experience. Kids who get bused somewhere just don't get that. We now have a first-class school and it's where it ought to be."

A Battle in Billings, Montana

The historic Broadwater and Garfield elementary schools in Billings, Mont., are among four older schools facing an uncertain future in this western city. While proposing to close these and two other in-town schools in an effort to save $180,000, school officials are planning to build a new school on the city's developing west end.

Even if it were found that these schools could not be renovated – an option not yet fully explored -- school site standards recommended by the Billings School Board would make it difficult to replace the schools with new ones in the city's established neighborhoods. The site standards call for one acre for every 100 students plus 10 acres for an elementary school, 25 acres for a middle school, and 35 acres for a high school.[29] To get the 14 acres that these standards would require for the Garfield School, "you'd have to take out six city blocks," observes Darrell Rud, Garfield's principal and president-elect of the National Association of Elementary School Principals.

Scott Atwood, a local architect, sees the national acreage standards promulgated by CEFPI as a problem: "Local officials refer to the CEFPI guidebook. They say: 'We have a reference here that says you need 10-plus acres for an elementary school. If we don't design our school to meet these standards, we could be found negligent.'"

Atwood's children attend the Broadwater school, and he believes the school's diversity is good for them: "This is a community school that serves lower-income families on up to pretty upper-middle-class folks. It brings together children from a variety of cultures."

Ann Clancy, president of the Broadwater School PTA, points out that city residents have already seen first-hand the ill effects that a school's closing can have on a

neighborhood. After an older school in Billings' North Park area closed several years ago, the surrounding area declined. Local residents do not want that scenario repeated in the Broadwater neighborhood.

Local school officials have suggested that they feel an obligation to provide a new school to serve the new residential developments now sprouting up on the outskirts of Billings. Advocates of preserving the city's older schools do not begrudge residents in the newly developing area a school. But if the school district can only afford a limited number of schools, they question the equity of pulling the rug out from underneath city residents who have invested in Billings' older neighborhoods. Is it fair, they ask, to reward people who moved into the outlying areas knowing there was no school when they moved there, and then to penalize residents who moved into the older city neighborhoods because schools *did* exist there?

Citizens have organized to save the older schools and have even offered to raise privately the $180,000 that the school board hopes to save by closing them. However, they've been told the privately raised supplementary funds would run afoul of a state law intended to ensure that rural and urban school districts are treated equitably. Ironically, this law's application to Billings may simply benefit the wealthier suburbs at the expense of economically diverse, old city neighborhoods.

Asked why the Garfield School's retention is important to the neighborhood, Rud answers that "the school is viewed as the cornerstone of the neighborhood. Other things come and go, but the school stays. It symbolizes the neighborhood. You take out the school, and it's the beginning of the decline of the neighborhood. You've got to have a school to have a neighborhood."

A Battle in Two Rivers, Wisconsin

In April 2000, voters in Two Rivers, Wis., narrowly approved a $20 million bond for a new school to be built on 79 acres of farmland on the outskirts of town. This outcome, approved by only 346 votes out of 5,504 cast, meant that the city's historic Washington High School, a neighborhood and downtown anchor, will not be remodeled and kept as a school, as many had hoped. The debate over the bond referendum bitterly

divided this small city and raised classic community preservation vs. suburban sprawl issues.

New-school proponents argued that building a new school was more cost-effective, would hold school operating costs down, and result in a school that would last twice as long as a renovated but older school.

The school board president took the position that the age of Washington High School *alone* necessitated costly plumbing, electrical, and other improvements. If these improvements weren't made, "we would be breaking the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)," he wrote. In his list of a new school's advantages, he included 600 parking spaces, a one-story building with increased flexibility, a large site for unlimited expansion, a new pool with a diving facility, and a new location that would allow for future community growth.

A promotional brochure distributed by the school board noted that the water line, sewer system, and road improvements made to serve the new school would be "appropriately sized for future development." The city "would benefit by the extension of utilities out that way," wrote a new-school supporter in favor of more development on the edge of town. "If the city were to [pay for the utilities], local taxpayers would have to fund the whole thing. But as part of the school district's building project, 70% [of the infrastructure costs] would be covered by state funding," he added.

But the prospect of shifting the city's center of gravity to the edge of town is precisely what worries some opponents of the new school. "Once city services have been extended into the area [of the new school], it is certain that real estate interests will become increasingly involved and the result will be even more pavement," wrote a local citizen to the newspaper. "There is no demographic justification for such sprawl."

Although the impact of the school's location on future growth patterns in Two Rivers was one bone of contention, it wasn't the only one.

Cost was another. Advocates of preserving Washington High in its central location argued that the school could be renovated and upgraded to meet all relevant building and ADA codes for under $14 million. The school board held that the renovation would cost $18.7 million. Proponents of saving Washington High argued that the school district had inflated renovation costs and underestimated new building

costs. In an educational flier, the Concerned Citizens of Two Rivers, a group opposed to the new school, charged the school board with leading the public to believe that only by building new could the school enjoy up-to-date technology. "We believe WHS can be a 'state-of-the-art' school and still retain the benefits of its architecture and central location," wrote Concerned Citizens. "[The school board has] not told [voters] that most of this 'state-of-the-art' technology is already in place," they added. The new school will be "an extravaganza out in the country, away from all who use it," wrote one citizen in a letter to the editor.

Yet another concern was the effect of closing Washington High on the surrounding neighborhood and the downtown. The school's central location currently enables many students to walk to school as well as to downtown. "The school is a focal point of the neighborhood," says Robert Fay, executive director of the Manitowoc County Historical Society and a neighborhood resident. "I live three blocks away. The reason the neighborhood is as stable as it is is because of the school. It has provided a sense of stability and has contributed to our quality of life. Now, except for the historic homes, there is no reason for people to move into the older neighborhood. They are sticking the new school in the middle of a cornfield across from a former landfill. The school's closing will hurt the downtown."

Other Local Battles

Elsewhere around the country, citizens are battling proposals to invest in "sprawl schools" at the expense of in-town schools that serve city neighborhoods.

- In Rice Lake, Wis., a citizens group called "Save Our Schools" collected some 1,500 petition signatures in five days in an effort to keep open three historic elementary schools. In urging the school district to save the schools, the group noted that if they were closed, 188 students who now walk to school would have to be bused to fringe locations at a cost to taxpayers of several thousand dollars a year. In nearby Bloomer, Wis., an effort to retain another in-town school is taking place.
- In Charlevoix County, Mich., local residents have sued the school district over plans to build a high school on 74 acres of prime farmland three miles out of town. The lawsuit notes that the school district is not planning a small neighborhood school to

serve this quiet farming community, but a large regional complex that will include an 8.5-acre parking lot and 20 acres of athletic fields. Fearing that a new sewer line running out to the school will stimulate sprawl development, the residents have advocated rebuilding an existing school in an in-town neighborhood.

- Still other battles to preserve small, historic neighborhood schools are taking place in Corning, N.Y., New Castle, Pa., Macon, Ga., Old Town, Maine, and elsewhere.

(***Author's note: Case studies on local battles to save historic schools in Atchison, Kansas; Brentwood, Pa.; and Winchester, Mass., are contained in Kerri Rubman's*** **A Community Guide to Saving Older Schools**, published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Forum Program. See www.nthpbooks.org. Useful information on school facilities can also be found on the National Clearinghouse for Education Facilities (NCEF) web site. Go to www.edfacilities.org/ir/preservation.cfm and www.edfacilities.org/ir/size.cfm

SCHOOL RENOVATION SUCCESSES

Historic neighborhood schools can and do offer important advantages over mega-schools located on sprawl sites far removed from the communities they are supposed to serve. Fortunately, there are many examples of historic neighborhood schools that have been renovated to meet 21st century standards for educational purposes.

Kokomo, Indiana: Asking the Right Questions

Asking the right questions – and getting a second opinion – can make a difference.

In November 1997, the fate of Kokomo's oldest high school seemed sealed: It was to be demolished for new school facilities on the same site. The 21st Century Committee, a planning group created by the Kokomo Center Township School Board, had recommended the 1914 structure's demolition on the grounds that the school could not meet life safety and other standards without a whopping $20-24 million in renovation expenses. Since the alternative – demolishing the school and building a new facility on the same site -- cost only $7 million, the school board felt that it had little choice but to vote for it.

When the school superintendent came to the school board's meeting with a request for permission to proceed with the demolition-and-new construction plan, Philip Thurston, a new school board member at the time, posed two questions to the superintendent:

- What is the basis for your opinion that the building is not fire-safe, and do you have written documentation for this opinion?
- What is the basis for your estimate that it would cost between $20-24 million to bring this building up to code? Do you have written documentation to justify this figure?

Having worked for ten years as a city fire inspector, Thurston was not as ready as other school board members to accept the "expert" view that it would be cost-prohibitive to make the historic school safe. The board supported a motion by Thurston to postpone the vote on the proposed plan until the two questions could be answered.

As it turned out, there was no written documentation for either the building's lack of safety or for the $20-24 million renovation cost estimate. These assertions had originated at a school board meeting several years earlier and had simply taken on a life of their own. Pressed for answers to Thurston's questions, the superintendent could produce only a record of the state fire marshal's inspection saying that the building was safe and solid. At Thurston's recommendation, the school board then hired a local engineering firm to come up with a second opinion on the cost of bringing the building up to code. This produced a cost estimate of $4 million, thereby making the school preservation option more competitive with the demolition and new building alternative. With this new, lower figure, the school board voted to preserve and renovate Kokomo High for use as a middle school.

The renovation got under way in the summer of 1998 and ended a year later. Today the Central Middle School meets modern life safety standards. It has a new media center. It's wired for computers. The classrooms are brightly painted and have new carpets.

Boise, Idaho: Holding a Contest to Solve Parking Problems

In 1995, the historic **Boise High School** was a candidate for demolition. The school board decided to restore this 1908 building, however, and to augment the educational program through the construction on adjacent land of a new technology center to house computer, science, and math classes. The old building then became a center for the humanities classes, such as art, drama, language and history.

Hummel Architects of Boise completed the $13.5 million renovation project in 1998. The renovation work included life safety upgrades (fire sprinklers, new fire alarms, smoke detectors and more exits were added), complete ADA accessibility improvements throughout the building, a re-roofing, and new electrical, data/telephone and lighting systems. An exterior ramp was added along with an elevator to provide access to the school's four floors. Classrooms were reconfigured and enlarged to meet state recommendations. The historic auditorium, which had seen performances by Duke Ellington and Bing Crosby, was restored to its former elegance, with a new lighting and

sound system added. The renovation was made easier by the fact that Idaho uses the Uniform Building Code for Building Conservation, a model building code that includes a special chapter for historic buildings.

To avoid degrading the surrounding neighborhood with acres of asphalt for school parking, the school board sponsored a contest to generate creative ideas for meeting parking needs. Three ideas were later implemented:

- reimbursing the local bus system so that students needing bus transportation could ride for free (Image-conscious teens saw riding a city bus as less humiliating than riding a school bus);
- working out shared-parking arrangements with nearby churches in the neighborhood; and
- making the school more "bike friendly" through better bike storage facilities.

According to Janet Orndorff, a local school board member, because the high school has stayed in town, students who want to participate in a mentoring program for younger, low-income children at a nearby elementary school can do so. The school's in-town location enables students to get to the elementary school easily.

The school's proximity to downtown also allows students to walk to local businesses, where they can participate in work-study programs. A government class can walk to the state capitol to see democracy in action. Kids can walk to the YMCA next door and work out. "If the high school were out in the middle of nowhere," Orndorff says, "they couldn't do any of this."

Orndorff reports that when the local school board adopted a policy on school closings, it included a requirement that the board consider the historic significance of a school: "We agreed that you can't just look at raw numbers in deciding whether to keep a school building open or not. Former and future students – and an entire community – may see value in a historical structure. If we lose that piece of our social fabric, then we jeopardize our whole culture. And the preservation of our culture is important to a child's well-rounded education. The Boise High School is beautiful. It's an important part of Boise's identity."

Manitowoc, Wisconsin: Building A New School on a Small Site

When an older school cannot be renovated – or when it's economically impractical to do so – communities should have the option of building a new, well-designed school on the old site so that the surrounding neighborhood can continue to enjoy the advantages that go with such an important anchor.

The benefits of opening up the school planning process – and of giving communities the flexibility to determine their own school site sizes -- can be seen in Manitowoc, Wis., a blue-collar city of about 30,000. Several years ago, school officials concluded that the old Jefferson Elementary School was a fire trap and could no longer serve as a school. But instead of giving this working-class neighborhood just one option – a "sprawl school" on a faraway site – the school board gave it two choices: a new school on the old school site, which was small; or a new school on a much larger site on the edge of town.

At the urging of parents and neighborhood residents, the school district decided to build an attractive new facility on the old Jefferson School site. Since the school bore Thomas Jefferson's name, students and teachers looked into the former president's ideas about architecture and horticulture and recommended incorporating these ideas into the design of the new Jefferson School. This was done and the community is pleased with the results. "The new Jefferson School is a stunningly beautiful building," says Joan Graff, a public information specialist for the Manitowoc Public School District. "It has a central rotunda with tall columns. It's two stories. It has beautiful windows. It draws people to the neighborhood. No, it doesn't have as much land for playing fields as a school on the edge of town would offer, but it does provide pleasant green space for the neighborhood to enjoy. And the kids can get there on their own. People love this school."

Manitowoc also decided with little debate to preserve and renovate the historic Lincoln High School, a community landmark built in 1923. Located on Lake Michigan, the school is part of an attractive residential neighborhood. A tower atop the school is an important city landmark and visible from afar.

The Lincoln High School underwent a $15 million renovation. The renovation preserved the structure's distinctive character but provided new telecommunications

wiring, new multi-media facilities, a new gym, and other innovations. Infrastructure improvements included heating and electrical system updates, replacement of plumbing piping, asbestos removal, roof repairs, window weather stripping, and removal of vinyl asbestos tile floors. The band and orchestra rooms in the renovated music wing now enjoy a stunning view of Lake Michigan thanks to ceiling-high windows. A new science wing has nine state-of-the-art classrooms with adjacent labs. The science office houses computers for staff and student use. The school is wired for computers. It meets ADA requirements.

In the fall of 1999, the Lincoln School held an open house to celebrate the building's renovation. "It's unbelievable how many people attended," says Graff. "People who had attended the school 60, 70 years ago – elderly people – came to this event. People were smiling. It was wonderful. Students had prepared food for 3,000 people, but so many people showed up that they ran out. Several generations of students have attended Lincoln, so the community feels a real sense of loyalty to the school."

OTHER RENOVATION SUCCESSES

Evansville, Indiana: Investing in a city's older schools

The Evansville-Vanderburgh School Corporation has emphasized good stewardship in a comprehensive program for renovating and upgrading virtually every city school. One beneficiary of this policy is the Benjamin Bosse High school, a beautiful landmark in the historic Lincolnshire neighborhood. A $19 million renovation of Bosse was completed in 1999, bringing the school up to modern codes and educational program standards. Classrooms were enlarged from 600 to 900 square feet, as state standards recommend. A hundred new parking spaces were added, but the parking lots were broken up to avoid the harsh, sea-of-asphalt look that characterizes so many schools. The school was also wired for computers. Fosse and Associates Architects, Inc., of Evansville carried out the renovation. Students who live in the pleasant Lincolnshire neighborhood can walk to school.

Hibbing, Minnesota: Exercising Good Stewardship

When people go to Hibbing, they often ask to see two things: the old Hullfuft Mine and the Hibbing High School, a collegiate gothic-style building constructed in 1923.

A brochure produced for tourists who come to see the high school includes this quote from a 1926 graduate: "From afar, one sees the towers and peaks of an old medieval castle outlined against the sky. But as he approaches closer…he sees that it is the Hibbing High School. Its silhouette against the heavens truly gives the impression of one of the medieval castles of yore."

Built by a mining company to replace an earlier school that sat atop an active mine, the Hibbing High School was patterned after the old Capital Theatre in New York City. The school's world-class auditorium is graced with four crystal chandeliers and a magnificent Barton pipe organ, one of only two in the U.S. Such famous musicians as Guy Lombardo, Liberace, and Johnny Cash have performed here. The school's unusual library contains paintings from 1913 depicting the journey that iron ore makes from the open pit and underground mines of Minnesota to steel plants in the East.

"To repair a bit each year so that there will be little need for big repairs" has been the philosophy of the Hibbing School District, which has maintained the school over the years. The school district has updated the building to meet new technology and building code standards. Teachers and students enjoy access to the Internet. Students learn computer-aided drafting, machining, and graphic arts. Computer labs are available for business education, art, media, and word processing.

"Our whole town is proud of this building," says June Hendrickson, who chairs the Hibbing Public School Board. "It's in a beautiful setting in the center of town. Nothing in the school is destroyed. Nothing on the auditorium seats is torn or scratched. The whole community, including the students, respects the school. It has a special place in the hearts of everyone."

Big-City Schools

Several urban school systems have carried out major school renovation programs in big cities.

In St. Louis, where 50 of the city's 110 public schools are 75 years or older, the school district launched a capital improvement project in 1988 that has meant $430 million for the renovation of these schools. One beneficiary of this project: St. Louis' historic Froebel Elementary School, which now has new mechanical and electrical systems and a 30,000-square-foot addition with a new gym, cafeteria, library, and more classrooms. "Our philosophy is to retain our school buildings because they were built to last," says Peter Bailey, planning director for St. Louis Public Schools. "Whenever possible, we try to invest in bringing neighborhoods back to life. We really believe that schools are community anchors."

Under the leadership of Mayor Richard Daley, many of Chicago's 601 public schools have undergone major improvements in recent years. "We've found that it is less expensive to renovate a school than to build a new one," says Christopher Bushell, director of capital renovation for the Chicago Public Schools. "Meeting handicapped accessibility and technology requirements has not been a problem. Our biggest challenge has been installing air conditioning." Bushell believes the school renovations have boosted the morale of many neighborhoods: "When I've gone into some of Chicago's really tough neighborhoods, residents have come up to me and commented that this is the first time the city has really invested in their neighborhood. This gives people hope. They're fixing up their homes and businesses where they see us fixing up schools."

In San Antonio, Texas, 42 of 92 schools have been declared historic. Rather than demolishing these schools, the San Antonio Independent School District is working to improve them in cooperation with the San Antonio Conservation Society, a preservation advocacy group that championed a $483 million school bond approved in 1997. "Everyone takes pride in these schools," says Bruce McDougall, the Society's director. "And that rubs off with people taking pride in entire neighborhoods."

BETTER MODELS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

A few states have taken steps to avoid the problems discussed earlier and to make it easier for communities to preserve historic neighborhood schools.

Acreage Standards

If, as U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley has argued, "size matters" in the creation of supportive learning environments, *both size and location matter* when it comes to creating community-centered schools. If a school's huge size and auto-orientation dictate an edge-of-town location, the school is more likely to be surrounded by a large parking lot than by a human-scaled neighborhood.

As noted earlier, a handful of states – New York, Washington, Florida, and New Hampshire -- recommend smaller sites for schools than those recommended by the Council of Educational Facility Planners International.

Maryland and Oregon impose no acreage requirements at all. Maryland's decision to abandon acreage requirements dates to the 1970s, when the state recognized that the application of such standards would force older cities like Baltimore to close almost all their schools. Although the state could have waived the standards for Baltimore and still applied them to smaller communities, state officials decided it did not make sense to have two sets of standards: one for big cities, another for small and mid-sized cities.

In recent years, Maryland has earned a national reputation for its Smart Growth Program. The philosophy behind this program, in the words of Governor Parris N. Glendening, is that "we should not use taxpayer money to promote sprawl... Instead, we should use our tax dollars to revitalize existing communities."[30]

Even before Maryland enacted smart growth legislation in 1997, the state's Public School Construction Program was already promoting smart growth principles. Consider, for example, Maryland's criteria for evaluating local applications for state financial assistance:

- "Projects should not encourage 'sprawl' development."

- "Projects should not be located in agricultural preservation areas...unless other options are not viable and the project's development will have no negative effect on future growth and development in the area."
- "Projects should encourage revitalization of existing facilities, neighborhoods, and communities."
- "Projects should be located in developed areas or in a locally-designated growth area."
- "Projects should be served by existing or planned water, sewer, and other public infrastructure."

Maryland's progressive approach to acreage standards and school siting criteria warrants attention by other states.

Coordination between school facility and general community planning

Maine has emerged as a leader in promoting better communication and coordination between school facility planners and general community planners.

The state's Department of Education encourages school superintendents to contact the State Planning Office (SPO) staff before making decisions about where to build new schools. Such contacts enable SPO staff to arrange meetings with local school planners for the purpose of coordinating school facility planning and local planning. Through these contacts, superintendents are better informed about the community's plans for new growth and development, and they are encouraged to take these plans into account. Following SPO site visits and meetings, the SPO staff makes recommendations to the state education board regarding the merits of state financial assistance for local projects. The board is not required to accept these recommendations, but it often does.

In a model of interdepartmental coordination, the Maine State Planning Office and State Board of Education recently collaborated on the publication of a brochure designed to help local officials make better school siting decisions. Entitled "The ABC's of School Site Selection," the brochure urges school districts to:

- avoid sprawl;
- consider school renovations or expansions in central locations whenever possible;

- analyze school sites for their proximity to village centers and established neighborhoods; and
- select sites served by adequate roads, utilities, and other essential services.

The brochure gives real-life examples of schools that have followed these principles. Kittery, for example, is cited for using local funds to rehabilitate the historic Frisbee School. The school now meets current life-safety and ADA standards.

Vermont. Vermont has explicitly recognized the importance of older schools to town centers. Consider this policy, adopted in August 1997 by the Vermont Education Department:

"It is...in the public interest to protect Vermont's historic schools for future generations and it shall be the policy of the Vermont State Board of Education that:

School districts be encouraged to use the existing infrastructure to meet the needs of Vermont's students and therefore funding for renovations, including major repairs, and additions to existing school buildings shall be given preference over new school development, taking into consideration the educational needs of students and that the costs of rehabilitation do not unreasonably exceed the costs of such new development.

1. With specific respect to historic school buildings listed on or eligible for the State or National Register of Historic Places, school districts shall make all reasonable efforts to preserve and protect such buildings and wherever possible, rehabilitate or add to such buildings to permit continued use as a school building."

State funding

Maryland. Maryland also leads the way in the elimination of funding formulas that discriminate against older schools and favor new ones. In fact, Maryland's formula actually favors the renovation of existing schools over the construction of new ones. Whereas the majority of the state's funds for capital projects formerly went into new school construction, today, 84% goes to existing schools."[31] Maryland's Smart Growth

Program encourages schools as well as other public institutions to reinvest in existing communities before building new in outlying areas.

Massachusetts. Under legislation passed in 2000, when school districts in Massachusetts apply to the state for reimbursement of expenses, they will now receive financial incentives for excellent maintenance of school buildings as well as for their renovation that have a good record in maintaining existing schools receive bonus points when they apply to the state for financial assistance.

Maine. Until 1997, school districts in Maine seeking state funds for small-scale rehabilitation projects had to go through a long, involved application process. Thanks to the recommendations of a gubernatorial commission, the state now has a Revolving Renovation Fund that makes small-scale projects easier to carry out. The legislature appropriated $28 million for the fund for July 2000-June 2001. Meanwhile, other funds remain available for large-scale renovation and new construction projects.

According to Michael Kucsma, an education specialist at the Maine Department of Education, the Revolving Renovation Fund addresses the problem of deferred maintenance. The Fund can act more flexibly and quickly than the previous system, thus allowing school districts to obtain emergency funds for repairs that should not be deferred. The Fund makes loans to school districts, but it can forgive between 30% and 70% of the project cost, depending on the school district's neediness. As some loans are paid back, the proceeds get plowed back into the Fund, which then makes more loans.

Georgia. As recently as 1997, historic schools in Georgia were ineligible for state funds because they were presumed to be obsolete. However, a state law has since been passed to allow local school boards to obtain state funds to renovate historic schools used as schools, provided they are listed on the National or Georgia Register of Historic Places.

Despite these improvements, Greg Paxton, executive director of the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, reports that problems remain: "Georgia's formula for more than $250 million…for school construction is tilted in favor of new construction and discourages rehabilitation of older neighborhood schools, while providing no help for ongoing maintenance. Communities that want to keep and rehabilitate older neighborhood schools, rather than build new ones, often cannot get the money they

need... But the worst feature of the formula is that each school can receive state funds for rehabilitation just one time!...Georgia's school funding formula does not encourage smart growth."

Pennsylvania. Until 1998, Pennsylvania prohibited local school boards from being reimbursed by the state for school renovation projects if the renovation costs exceeded 60% of the cost of a new school. At the urging of Preservation Pennsylvania, a preservation advocacy organization, the state eliminated this rule in 1998. Although Pennsylvania retains acreage requirements that do not encourage the renovation of older schools on small, in-town sites, the state has leveled the playing field with respect to funding.

Washington. To give school districts an extra incentive to rehabilitate and upgrade historic schools, Washington is considering providing a rebate on state sales taxes (which can exceed millions of dollars on a large project) for historic school rehabilitation expenses.

Building Codes

In 1998, the Pennsylvania Department of Education eliminated a rule that had prevented school districts from receiving state reimbursement for the renovation of buildings taller than one story if they were made with "wood frame" construction. The policy change came following a study conducted for the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation and Preservation Pennsylvania by Landmarks Design Associates (LDA) of Pittsburgh. LDA found that of 6,200 fire incidents recorded by the U.S. Fire Administration in elementary and secondary schools between 1991 and 1995, there was no correlation between construction type and number of injuries sustained. In fact, the USFA figures showed that wood-frame construction (both "protected ordinary construction" and "unprotected ordinary construction") scored similarly, with 3 and 3.5 injuries per 100 incidents, respectively. The score for the most fire resistive type of construction possible was 3.8 injuries per 100 incidents.

New Jersey's Rehabilitation Code and Massachusetts' Article 34 both provide for code compliance alternatives in recognition of the fact that older schools can be made safe through such alternatives.

BENEFITS OF RENOVATED HISTORIC NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS

Preservationists recognize that older schools sometimes pose real challenges, such as the need to improve wiring, access, and other features. They also believe that it is critically important that the working and learning environment for teachers and students be supportive and uplifting. However, these issues can often be addressed without building a whole new school on a "sprawl site."

Because there are many benefits to preserving and upgrading historic neighborhood schools, which typically are smaller and community-centered, there are compelling reasons to reexamine public policies that undermine the preservation of such schools. At the same time, there are good reasons to look at how these policies promote "school sprawl."

Older schools can be renovated to meet state-of-the-art educational standards.

Despite their age, many historic schools are better built than educational facilities of more recent vintage, according to architects who have worked on both. Older schools can be, and have been, adapted to meet today's life safety, handicapped-accessibility, computer technology, and educational program needs. Creative architects experienced in building rehabilitation techniques can knock down walls to change the size of classrooms. They can install ramps and elevators to improve the accessibility of a building. They can add sprinklers and exits to enhance life safety. They can add skylights to cheer up a dark room. And school officials can reach agreements with city park agencies, nearby churches, public transit agencies and other institutions to share playing fields, parking spaces, transportation services and other things that schools need.

Recycling buildings of any kind, schools included, takes pressure off of the natural environment. It lessens the need to cut down forests for lumber. It lessens the need to break up the homes of wildlife. It lessens the need to pave over farmland. And it takes pressure off of landfills, many of which are filled to capacity.

By reducing the number of students who have to drive – or be driven – to school, preserving schools in walkable neighborhoods avoids the water and air pollution (a major cause of childhood asthma) to which "school sprawl" contributes.

Schools teach values as well as technical and academic skills. Not the least of such values is the importance of environmental stewardship. No class of people stands to lose more from the degradation of the environment than young people, who face the prospect of paying heavily to clean up a degraded environment. The irony of teaching children to recycle paper and cans while treating older school buildings like Kleenex is captured by Dan Becker, a parent trying to save his daughter's school in Raleigh, North Carolina: "They have recycling bins in the cafeteria, and yet they were planning to cart the whole school off to the landfill."

Schools are important to older neighborhoods.

Schools are part of the glue that holds communities together. As Darrell Rud, president-elect of the National Association of Elementary School Principals put it, "You take out the school, and that's the beginning of the decline of the neighborhood. You've got to have a school to have a neighborhood." The school introduces people who would otherwise remain strangers to each other. In so doing, it helps build a sense of community, which is central to solving society's bigger challenges, education included.

Conversely, the removal of a longstanding, community-centered school can dishearten an older neighborhood. It is precisely because they have seen first-hand the effects of boarded-up schools on other older neighborhoods that citizens in many places raised an uproar over the closing of historic neighborhood schools. These citizens – and others like them – are meeting in each others' living rooms to plot strategies for saving these schools. They are producing T-shirts, lawn signs, campaign buttons and posters to make people aware of what's at stake. They are scrounging for money to pay experts to study the financial and architectural feasibility of renovating older schools in the hope of persuading school boards to abandon demolition or school-closing plans. They are gathering petition signatures, creating web sites, holding town meetings. And for the most part, they are squeezing all these activities into weekends or into the few hours that separate work from bedtime.

The system should make it easier for parents, educators, and community residents to preserve and renovate historic neighborhood schools when it is feasible to adapt these buildings for modern educational programs. When it isn't, communities should be able

to build well-designed new schools *in the same neighborhood* without undue damage to surrounding homes. Above all, the rules should not put pressure on communities to replace historic neighborhood schools with mega-school sprawl in remote locations.

States like Maine and Maryland are demonstrating that state policies can bring education and "smart growth" goals together. School boards such as those in Boise, Idaho, and Evansville, Ind., are demonstrating the benefits of good stewardship to education and community preservation. And citizens in places like Durham, N.C., and Atchison, Kans., are showing that they can successfully mobilize to save older and historic schools that are threatened.

AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE:
POLICY REFORM RECOMMENDATIONS

If it's time to bring back smaller, community-centered schools, as many educators believe, it's also time to stop destroying such schools where they already exist. Many historic neighborhood schools embody the very benefits seen in smaller, community-centered schools.

It's also time to give kids the option of walking to school and to free families from the burden of financing a third or fourth car in order to give young people the independence they should have. It's time to preserve – and upgrade, when necessary – historic schools whose architecture inspires civic pride. When such schools cannot be preserved, communities should have the choice of replacing them on the same site with well-designed new schools that can continue to provide the "glue" that older neighborhoods need. The recommendations below are offered by the National Trust for Historic Preservation to move these goals forward.

Top Twelve Policy Recommendations

1. Put historic neighborhood schools on a level playing field with new schools. Eliminate funding biases that favor new construction over school renovation and good stewardship.

2. Eliminate arbitrary acreage standards that undermine the ability of established communities to retain and upgrade (or replace on the same site, when necessary) historic and older schools that could continue to serve as centers of community.

3. Avoid "mega-school sprawl" – massive schools in remote locations that stimulate sprawl development and are accessible only by car or bus.

4. Develop procedures for accepting land donated by developers for new schools. Land in "sprawl locations" that are inappropriate for schools should be rejected.

5. Encourage school districts to cooperate with other institutions – e.g., government agencies, nonprofits, churches, and private businesses -- to share playgrounds, ball fields, and parking as well as to provide transit services, when appropriate.

6. Establish guidelines, training programs, and funding mechanisms to ensure adequate school building maintenance. Create disincentives for school districts to defer needed maintenance and allow buildings to fall into disrepair.

7. Require feasibility studies comparing the costs of new schools with those of renovating existing schools before new schools are built and existing ones abandoned. Hire only architects with experience in rehabilitation work to conduct such studies. These studies should also consider the impact of a school's closing on existing neighborhoods, long-term transportation costs, and municipal service

burdens. Finally, these studies must be presented to the public for comment before projects move forward. If they are presented only to the superintendent and school facilities committee, their use is limited.

8. Reexamine exemptions given to local school districts from local planning, zoning, and growth management laws.

9. Work to ensure that a minimum of 50% of the students can walk or bike to school in cities, towns, and suburbs. Promote safe-routes-to-school legislation in the states.

10. When a historic school cannot be preserved and reused, school districts and/or local governments should implement plans for the building's adaptive use or replacement so that it does not become a source of blight in the neighborhood.

11. Promote "smart codes" legislation to encourage the rehabilitation and modernization of historic schools as well as other still serviceable buildings.

12. Provide education and training in school renovation techniques and options for school facility planners, contractors, private consultants, architects, school board members, municipal officials and others.

END NOTES

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[1] The *Guide for School Facility Appraisal* (1998 Edition), published by the Council of Educational Facility Planners, International, says that "A central location is especially essential at the elementary and middle school levels," but "...most school districts no longer find the neighborhood school concept feasible...." See p. 7.

[2] See *Breaking Ranks: Changing An American Institution*, A Report of the National Association of Secondary School Principals on the High School of the 21st Century (1996), p. 46.

[3] Valerie Strauss, "A Case for Smaller Schools," *The Washington Post*, August 8, 2000. Page A-10.

[4] Deborah Meier, "Small Schools, Big Results," *The American School Board Journal*, July 1995, pp. 38-39. Cited in a September 1999 memorandum by U.S. Representative Baron Hill on recent research on small schools. The memorandum also notes research by education scholar Kathleen Cotton, who examined more than 100 studies, evaluations, reviews and syntheses concerning relationships between school size and various aspects of educational experience. Hill states: "She found that, across-the-board, smaller schools perform as well or better than larger schools. Her work comprised research on quality of curriculum, cost-effectiveness, academic achievement, student attitudes, extracurricular participation, attendance, drop-out rates, alienation of students, student self-concept, interpersonal relations between students and faculty members, college readiness, and teacher attitudes." See Kathleen Cotton, "School Size, School Climate, and Student Performance," *Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory*, 1996. See also Robert Bickel and Craig Howley, *Results of Four-State Study: Smaller Schools Reduce Harmful Impact of Poverty on Student Achievement*, The Rural School and Community Trust, 2000, p. 1.

[5] See *Schools as Centers of Community: A Citizens' Guide for Planning and Design*, U.S. Dept. of Education, p. 6.

[6] Resolution No. 4, passed April 6, 2000 by the Board of Supervisors of East Bradford Township, Chester County, Pa. See also April 11, 2000 statement by the East Bradford Township Board of Supervisors, p. 4.

[7] *Kidswalk-to-School: A Guide to Promote Walking to School*, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Services, p.1.

[8] See *What If: New Schools, Better Neighborhoods, More Livable Communities*, a report by the Metropolitan Forum Project of Los Angeles and the James Irvine Foundation, p. 19-20.

[9] See Jane Seaberry, "For Suburban Youths, Recreation Is No Longer Just Child's Play," *The Washington Post*, May 31, 1993.

[10] See Robert Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 212.

[11] See *Kidswalk-to-School*, p. 1. See also *Journal of the American Medical Association, October 27, 1999.* See also *JAMA*, October 17, 1999.

[12] Population shifts occurring in Minnesota between 1970 and 1990 have caused central cities and inner-ring and second-ring suburbs together to close 132 schools, while 50 new schools have been opened at the edge of the metropolitan area. See Myron Orfield, *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability* (Brookings Institution Press/Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 1998), p. 53.

[13] Sept. 21, 1999 memorandum from Al Reaser, director of building services for Albemarle County Public Schools.

[14] CEFPI's 1998 *Guide for School Facility Appraisal* states that "[I]is usually estimated that 50% of the older students [at the high school level] will drive cars to school."

[15] "Wait for the Bus: How Lowcountry School Site Selection and Design Deter Walking to School and Contribute to Urban Sprawl, by Christopher Kouri. A Report Prepared for the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League. November 1999, p. 13.

[16] *Guide for Planning Educational Facilities (1991)*, the Council of Educational Facility Planners International, p. F-13.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[18] According to the Council of Educational Facility Planners International's 1991 *Guide for Planning Educational Facilities*, "...the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement and EFL's "New Life for Old Schools" study suggest that when modernization costs approach 50% of the

estimated costs of replacement, it is wise to take a second look at the existing building. In actual practice, this figure is generally higher." See p. N5.

[19] See "Policy Report: Reconstructing the School Building Assistance Program," Policy Report Series No. 3, January, 2000, by the Executive Office for Administration and Finance, p. 59

[20] See W. Cecil Steward, Dean, College of Architecture, University of Nebraska, "Case 13: Lincoln, Nebraska, Public School Systems: The Advance Scouts for Urban Sprawl," *Under the Blade: The Conversion of Agricultural Landscapes*, edited by Richard K. Olson and Thomas A. Lyson. (Westview Press, 1999) Page 370.

[21] See *Bibb County School District v. Macon-Bibb Planning and Zoning Commission* in the Superior Court of Bibb County, State of Georgia. April 25, 1995.

[22] June 10, 1999 letter from James R. Derryberry, director, Planning, Building, & Code Enforcement, City of San Jose, California, to Martell Taylor, Morgan Hill Unified School District. See also Stuart Leavenworth, "Schools Getting Too Close for Comfort," *Sacramento Bee*, April 27, 2000.

[23] See "Schools in Agricultural Areas: A Policy Discussion," *Stanislaus Farm News*, June 21, 1996.

[24] Local Government Comprehensive Planning Enabling Act, S.C. Code Sections 6-29-310 through 6-29-1200, 1994

[25] "Wait for the Bus: How Lowcountry School Site Selection and Design Deter Walking to School and Contribute to Urban Sprawl," by Christopher Kouri. A Report Prepared for the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League. November 1999. P. 2.

[26] Ibid, p. vi.

[27] See p. 8, *The Cost of Sprawl*, Maine State Planning Office. May 1997.

[28] Ibid, p. vi.

[29] See *Long Range Facilities Plan* for School District No. 2, Billings, Montana, prepared by the Long Range Facilities Planning Committee, December 8, 1997.

[30] See *Challenging Sprawl: Organizational Responses to a National Problem*, by Constance Beaumont (National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1999), p. 92.

[31] Ibid., p. 95.

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